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THE Nation

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The Bricker Amendment

Hog-Tying Our Treaty Makers

by Merlo J. Pusey

The Real Prokofiev — *Alexander Werth*

Auto Workers Speak — *Arthur Eggleston*

Vishinsky Returns — *J. Alvarez del Vayo*

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

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Around the U.S.A.

Pittsburgh Rushes Off in All Directions

Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

PITTSBURGH was stirred to its depths not long ago by the disclosures of Matthew Cvetic, of a "I was a Communist" fame, and the subsequent activity of Judge Michael A. Musmanno, which was patterned after that of Senator McCarthy on a national level. Names from Mr. Cvetic's memory filled the pages of the Pittsburgh newspapers, and humble clerks in obscure social-work agencies lost their jobs as poor security risks. On the heels of Mr. Cvetic's confessions, Judge Musmanno pounced on the local Communist Party headquarters, and finding that it contained no copy of the United States Constitution, ordered the rooms padlocked and the officers arrested.

Judge Musmanno then stepped out of the robes of a Common Pleas jurist and as a private citizen prosecuted Steve Nelson, Andrew Onda, and James Dolsen. Having obtained their conviction as Communists under a state sedition law—they have since been indicted under federal law—he became justice of the Pennsylvania Supreme Court.

• Concomitantly Pittsburgh has shown a feverish desire to better itself, in all directions. A new airport has been built. ALCOA has erected a great aluminum building, United States Steel a steel building. Slum areas are being razed for public auditoriums, parks, and parking lots. The Golden Triangle is bursting with derricks and bulldozers.

The exciting experiments with gamma globulin for polio originated in Pittsburgh. The city water department puts fluorides in the water. A local FEPC ordinance is passed. International art exhibitions and music festivals are held. Pittsburgh's institutions of learning import famous names in every field—for example, Dr. Benjamin Spock in pediatrics and Dr. Roy Harris in music.

With Dr. Harris's appointment at the Pennsylvania College for Women the city's craving for superiority collided with its craving for conformity. Rover boys Musmanno and Cvetic ran across Dr. Harris's name in the files of the House Un-American Activities Committee. Not only had he been affiliated with some of those organizations on the Attorney General's list, but he had dedicated a musical work to the Red Army. Judge Musmanno promptly persuaded his local post to send him as a delegate to the next meeting of the American Legion, and there he offered a resolution denouncing Dr. Harris for alleged subversive leanings. Impassioned as always, he cried, "Dr. Harris must leave Pittsburgh. He is a disgrace to Pittsburgh."

Colonel John H. Shenkel, chairman of the Americanism Committee of the Legion for the past eighteen years, opposed Musmanno and his resolution. The committee unanimously recommended its rejection.

• Meanwhile Mr. Cvetic had written a letter to the paper and been answered. He was reminded that Dr. Harris had made the dedication in question in 1943, when several million other Americans, including General Eisenhower, were hailing the Soviet Union and the Red Army, and that thorough investigation by the Pennsylvania College for Women had completely cleared Dr. Harris of disloyalty.

Dr. Harris expressed disgust with the effrontery of Musmanno and Cvetic and asserted his willingness to defend himself under oath before the House Un-American Activities Committee. He said further, "I hope that the committee would be eager also to investigate the reprehensible practice of exploiting our hatred and fear of communism for personal, political, or financial gain."

At its March meeting the American Legion rejected the Musmanno resolution. The Judge withdrew gracefully, telling the delegates that since Dr. Harris was willing to appear before the House committee, he was satisfied. When asked whether he too would be willing to appear before the committee to repeat his charge under oath, he replied, "I will answer it this way. I am at the disposal of my government at any time, whether on the battlefield or in public service." TERRY MILLER

[*Terry Miller is a free-lance writer in Pittsburgh.*]

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The Shape of Things

The Brightening Eastern Sky

As we go to press, China has announced its readiness to cooperate in hurdling the last barrier to the long-sought truce in Korea. Thus, according to Peking, the American—and United Nations—demand that prisoners are to be repatriated only on a "voluntary" basis is to be met. Only those prisoners would be returned home who want to go. Others would be turned over to a "neutral state" pending a final disposition of their status. This is substantially the plan which India earlier presented before the current session of the General Assembly and which, in an amended form, was turned down by China.

At no time since the outbreak of the Korean war has the outlook for peace been greater. Peking has made its bid; it is up to the West to meet it.

Softening Up the F. T. C.

The appointment of Edward F. Howrey to a seven-year term on the Federal Trade Commission—he will be the new chairman—is quite in keeping with the what-is-good-for-business-is-good-for-the-country philosophy of the Eisenhower Administration. Bruce Catton, who was apparently the first reporter to note the significance of the selection, pointed out in *The Nation* of March 14 that Mr. Howrey will not have to bone up on the work or procedures of the commission. For twenty years now he has represented a powerful clientèle of special interests before it and is perhaps the best-known and most influential lobbyist in the field.

But the appointment involves another issue. In a conservative understatement the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* notes that the appointment of Mr. Howrey was "inadequately reported." It is not surprising, therefore, that the nomination should have been quickly approved by the Senate Commerce Committee. Is this another instance of the Democrats' electing to "play dead" in the hopeful anticipation that the Republicans will dig their own graves?

Trans-Channel Trade

At the meeting of the Organization for European Economic Cooperation in Paris last week Britain succeeded in banishing some of the doubts about its policies that had been agitating the European chancelleries. In the first place it announced that the unrestricted proportion of its European imports, reduced during last year's crisis from 90 to 44 per cent, would be raised to 56 per cent and that foreign-exchange allowances for British tourists would be increased from £25 to £40. These moves, together with a parallel relaxation of import quotas by the West German government, should help to lift the total of intra-European trade and prove of particular assistance to France and Italy, which have been suffering from a decline in exports.

Even more welcome was the British readiness to stay in the European Payments Union for another year unless there was a unanimous agreement to transform the union into a larger system. This quieted fear of a private deal between Britain and the United States to restore sterling convertibility. Whatever its hopes may have been, the recent British mission to Washington obviously learned that the Eisenhower Administration was either unwilling or unable to make commitments in this direction.

As a result the Churchill government seems to have decided that a purely Commonwealth approach to the problem must be abandoned in favor of one that embraces the whole Western European partnership. We may expect, therefore, to see new efforts to strengthen economic ties between Europe and the sterling area as the first step in collective action for trade expansion and general currency convertibility. In theory such a plan would be much more warmly received than any unilateral scheme: in practice, since it will be much harder to turn down, it may prove more embarrassing.

Mayer Heads for Trouble

If Prime Minister René Mayer's mission had ended in Washington it could have been defined as very successful. Indo-China, one of the chief concerns of the French government, is now definitely included in the field of American international obligations. The joint warning to Communist China that aggressive warfare anywhere in the Far East would be considered a violation of a Korean armistice and would "have the most serious consequences" implies an American commitment to military support of France in Indo-China which goes far beyond the agreements made at the last NATO meeting.

The amount of additional American financial aid to be allocated to winning the fight in Indo-China was not stated. It was left to be settled at the next NATO meeting in Paris, starting on April 23. But it may be assumed that once the agreement has been made in principle and the plans for military action accepted, the money will be forthcoming.

The French also obtained full recognition of "the im-

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In This Issue

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things 277
The Bohlen Affair 279

ARTICLES

Bricker Amendment:
The Treaty-Making Power
by Merlo J. Pusey 280

Vishinsky Returns
by J. Alvarez del Vayo 283

A Fillip for Labor:
The U. A. W. Convention
by Arthur Eggleston 284

The Real Prokofiev:
Now It Can Be Told
by Alexander Werth 285

Red China Diary:
II. Germ-War Exhibit
by Desmond Donnelly 287

TV Commercials *by Frank Orme* 289

BOOKS

Soviet Russia as It Is
A Review by Mark Gayn 290

New Books in Brief 292

THEATER *by Harold Clurman* 293

MUSIC *by B. H. Haggin* 294

ART NOTES 295

LETTERS 296

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 510
by Frank W. Lewis 296

AROUND THE U. S. A.: Pittsburgh
Rushes Off in All Directions
by Terry Miller opposite 277

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portance of the settlement of the question of the Saar"—an asset in Premier Mayer's balance-sheet. But on this point there is a countervailing liability. The French ministers had to reciprocate by pledging themselves to speed ratification of the European Army treaty and by identifying themselves with the official American view that in the recent overtures of the new Russian government there has been little to encourage hope of negotiation. These two concessions are already being criticized in influential non-Communist circles in France. Premier Mayer must complete his mission at home, and it is an easy prediction that his next appearance in the French Parliament will prove more hazardous than his visit to Washington.

Tito Makes a Hit

London

Tito's visit was epitomized by the incident at the luncheon given for him by the Labor Party's National Executive at the House of Commons. Before his arrival there was some concern that he would be monopolized by Aneurin Bevan, who had interviewed him summer before last. But when Sir Waldron Smithers, the half-comic pre-Victorian Conservative strode in and exchanged some words with him in the Serbo-Croat he had picked up while fighting at Salonika in World War I, it was apparent that Tito was doing all right.

The indignant letters of Catholic leaders, plus Evelyn Waugh and Graham Greene, were passed off rather lightly. Communist protests were so mild as to seem *pro forma*. The bulk of the British people were prepared to welcome Tito heartily because there is high regard here for a brave patriot, particularly when his patriotism is in Britain's interest. Anthony Eden and the Foreign Office were won over by his cooperation in helping to rebuild the East Mediterranean section of the *cordon sanitaire*.

Tito said on leaving that he had "attained all we hoped for." It had previously been taken for granted that any attack on Yugoslavia by the Cominform countries would be considered a cause for war by the West, but considerable remained to be done in planning and implementing a counter-strategy. During Tito's visit it became clearer that Britain will be the funnel through which Western aid to Tito will flow. Anglo-Yugoslav military talks will be resumed in Belgrade shortly. Tito was satisfied.

ANDREW ROTH

Last of the New Dealers

Frances Perkins, the last of the New Dealers, is retiring from the federal service after completing a seven-year term on the Civil Service Commission. As Secretary of Labor in the original Roosevelt Cabinet, Miss Perkins faced tremendous handicaps: she was the first woman to serve in the Cabinet—and a cruel cross this proved to be—and she was not "of labor." But she managed to ride

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out storms of abuse without losing her admirable sense of humor or her capacity for efficient public service. Miss Perkins probably had a clearer conception of the New Deal and was more unselfishly dedicated to the achievement of its goals than any of her colleagues. The list of social achievement with which her name is associated is indeed impressive. Always a modest person, Miss Perkins left Washington so quietly that her departure was scarcely noticed in the press. She has our best wishes.

The Bohlen Affair

THE PROBLEM with the Bohlen affair is how to score it. Who won? who lost? how should the final score be reckoned?

Defeated on the main issue, McCarthy and "the little group of wilful" Senators who supported him made several telling points. Mr. Bohlen's usefulness as a career diplomat has been seriously impaired. The demoralization of the foreign service has been accelerated. Congress has again won the right to inspect confidential F. B. I. reports. More important, McCarthy has again succeeded in raising a doubt in the public's mind about the integrity of the State Department's conduct of foreign affairs—a doubt which he will exploit to the full whenever the international situation gives him an opportunity. Nor has McCarthy surrendered. With three of his henchmen he serves on the Senate Appropriations Committee, and he has already promised Mr. Dulles a lively session when the Secretary of State appears before the committee in support of his department's budget. Moreover, it should not be forgotten that the Bricker amendment will be used even more effectively than the attack on the Bohlen appointment to embarrass the Administration. The fight on the Bohlen appointment was so timed in relation to the death of Stalin as to make it an ideal means of warning the Administration what to expect should it open negotiations with the Russians for a general settlement. There can be no doubt, as the sharp exchange between Mr. Dulles and Senator McCarran indicated, that the Bohlen affair was regarded by both sides as the "acid test"—the test, that is, of who is directing foreign policy. McCarthy can count votes as accurately as the next man. He knew he could not prevent Bohlen's confirmation; his real objective was to establish a beachhead from which a broader attack on the Administration might be launched. The beachhead was won.

Nevertheless, the Administration seems to have racked up more points than McCarthy. The haste with which Joe's most ardent admirers deserted him on this issue is a fair measure of the ground he has lost. It means something when the New York *World Telegram* denounces McCarthy for his "back-alley tactics" and refers to him as "this loud-mouthed rowdy," when the Hearst *Journal-American* interrupts its red-baiting long enough to say "we've had enough of this kind of malicious mischief in American life," and when the New York *Daily News* concedes that its hero was "off the beam" in the Bohlen case. "Not since F. D. R. wrecked the national support accorded him in 1936 with his controversial court-enlarging plan of the following February," writes Frank Conniff in the *Journal-American* (March 25), "has a politician dissipated his reservoir of support as quickly as Battling Joe."

Nor can there be much doubt that McCarthy made a serious mistake in isolating himself on the fringe of his own party. The bitter clashes with Senators Knowland and Taft, the sharp comments by Senators Tobey (who suggested that the Senate's theme song should be "I'm forever chasing rumors") and Flanders, and the President's more-in-sorrow-than-in-anger rebuke, certainly did not enhance McCarthy's prestige. Of even greater importance, in our view, is the fact that McCarthy's vicious attack on Bohlen created a new awareness of the assorted evils for which his name is now a label. Columnists referred tartly to the "fifth column" in government that has been leaking information to McCarthy and McCarran, called attention to McCarthy's brazen lying with a new directness and emphasis, and noted with asperity how the F. B. I. carelessly includes in security reports gossip of a "poison pen" madness that should promptly call for an investigation of the letter-writers. The Bohlen affair, moreover, was reported with a vividness of detail that has not always characterized the coverage of McCarthy's adventures in slander.

TO ENLARGE the scope of the survey somewhat, just how do things now stand with McCarthy, Velde, and Jenner? To Velde's sharp setback in his exchange with the clergy may now be added McCarthy's first tactical defeat. In the last sixty days McCarthy and his colleagues have sent more fresh recruits to his opponents than have enlisted in the last six years. Despite some division, the Protestant leadership has been deeply offended by their threats and is now thoroughly aroused. An influential sector of Catholic opinion—witness caustic editorials in *America* and the *Commonweal* and Dr. George N. Shuster's fine speech in Washington—has been alienated by the bigotry and recklessness of McCarthy and McCarran. Telecasts of recent inquisitions have brought a new understanding of the ugly menace of McCarthyism to thousands who were formerly indifferent or uninformed. A large audience heard one witness demand that the Senate find out how McCarthy "was able to bank 175,000 bucks while making a salary of $15,000 a year."

It is doubtless true that McCarthy, Velde, and Jenner, in their more recent sorties, have succeeded in rallying the malcontents and consolidating the support which is theirs as a matter of psychological and political affinity.

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But these gains have been purchased at an extremely high price. However one totals the score, the gains in the fight against McCarthy of recent weeks have been sufficient to give new hope to a large and growing opposition. If the Democratic leadership in Congress—note an honorable exception for Senator Lehman—would only emerge from its long hibernation and join the fray, it is possible that 1954 might find McCarthy, Velde, and Jenner on the run. It is much too early to crow, but the suggestion we advanced some weeks ago that a revolt against McCarthy was in the making has been borne out by the losses he has sustained in the Bohlen affair. No Paul Revere has yet ridden forth to sound the alarm, but here and there Minute Men have begun to assemble.

BRICKER AMENDMENT

The Treaty-Making Power . . *by Merlo J. Pusey*

A FLANKING movement against American leadership in world affairs has gained alarming headway in Congress. Led by Senator John W. Bricker of Ohio, it has easily won adherents by playing upon fears that the power to make treaties may be used to curtail or destroy our rights and liberties. With the aid of this lusty hobgoblin, the Senator is dangerously near to setting the country back more than a century and a half in its foreign relations.

More specifically, the appealing idea that Senator Bricker holds out to his colleagues and to the country is a way of preventing the internationalists from supplanting the Bill of Rights with newfangled foreign agreements. Unless the Constitution is amended, he contends, the whole structure of our government may be altered through the treaty power. To counteract that peril, he would clamp severe restraints on the President and the State Department and transfer a large measure of control over foreign relations to Congress.

Some observers of the Washington scene believe that Senator Bricker is striking obliquely at the United Nations. With the U. N. Charter coming up for automatic revision in 1955, the neo-isolationists in Congress would like nothing better than to force a retreat from our U. N. commitments. Whether that is part of Mr. Bricker's game or whether he is sincerely concerned about a possible eclipse of rights is a matter of little consequence. The effects of blunderbussing can be just as disastrous as those of malicious scheming.

Thus far Senator Bricker has been astonishingly successful in convincing his fellow-legislators that his proposed constitutional amendment is an urgently necessary reform. His new resolution has been introduced with sixty-four sponsors —precisely the number of votes needed to push it through the Senate. And an Associated Press inquiry among members of the Eighty-third Congress indicates that they favor by eight to one the "principle" on which Mr. Bricker has taken his stand.

Apparently the strategy of the sponsors is to bring the resolution to a vote in the Senate as soon as possible—before either Congress or the country is fully aware of what is happening. If the Senate can be induced thus to vote no confidence in itself as the guardian of the treaty-making process, it is assumed that the House will quickly acquiesce. For many years the House has had an itch for some measure of control over foreign relations, and if it finds the Senate ready to hand over some of its exclusive power in this field, nothing is likely to stop the Bricker drive. In view of their frequent complaints about treaty encroachments on their local laws, the state legislatures may be expected to join eagerly in forging fetters for the treaty-makers.

Some stout opposition to the plan appeared at the hearings before a Senate Judiciary subcommittee, and the Departments of State and Justice will soon voice their apprehension. President Eisenhower has spoken mildly against the resolution at two press conferences, but there is no assurance that the Administration can overcome the momentum that the Bricker bandwagon has already attained. The chairman of the subcommittee in charge of the measure is Senator Langer, one of the two members of the Senate who voted against approval of the United Nations treaty. Considering all the circumstances, it looks as if only a tidal wave of public opinion could save the treaty power from a clumsy overhauling by its enemies.

NOW TAKE a close-up view of this backward-looking resolution. Senator Bricker lays greatest stress on Section 1, which reads:

> A provision of a treaty which denies or abridges any right enumerated in this Constitution shall not be of any force or effect.

One might suppose from the nature of this prohibition that the people had been deprived of some highly prized rights by treaties surreptitiously approved by the Senate and blindly upheld by the Supreme Court. But nothing of the sort has happened. Indeed, sponsors of the amendment cannot point to a single treaty in all our history that represents an abuse of power. What they are trying to do is to upset a system that has worked reasonably well for more than a century and a half in order to

MERLO J. PUSEY, associate editor of the Washington Post, is author of a biography of Charles Evans Hughes that won a Pulitzer Prize.

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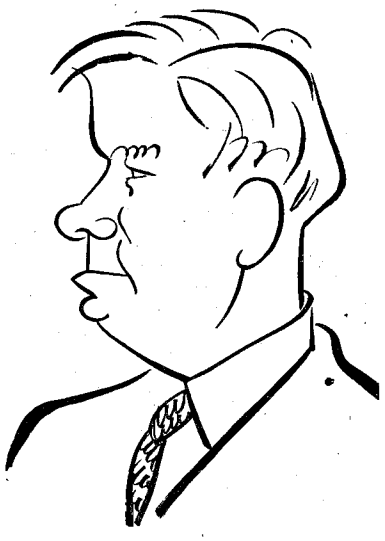
prevent even consideration of suggested future treaties which they fear would prove unwise.

The chief explanation given for this distrust of our treaty-making system is an alleged Achilles' heel in the Constitution. The supremacy clause of that document provides that the Constitution and federal laws "made in Pursuance thereof" and "all Treaties made, or which shall be made, under the Authority of the United States" shall be "the supreme Law of the Land." Treaties, the revisionists note, are thus put in a less restricted category than are statutes. Consequently the power given to the President and the Senate is unlimited, and treaties can be made to override the Constitution.

It happens that there was a good historical reason for separating treaties and statutes in the supremacy clause. The Founding Fathers did this to avoid casting any reflection on the treaties that had previously been made under the old Articles of Confederation, including the peace treaty with England. Obviously these could not have been saved if the Constitution had recognized only treaties to be made under its own terms. So James Madison and his confrères brought within the "supreme Law of the Land" all treaties made "under the Authority of the United States."

WHAT, THEN, is the authority of the United States? Since the adoption of the Constitution it must be the authority given the United States by that document. Ours is a government of limited powers, and no limits are more rigidly fixed than those which safeguard the rights and freedoms of the people. To assume that a treaty made "under the Authority of the United States" can demolish rights which all officials of the United States are forbidden to infringe is to inflate the treaty clause beyond all reason and to drain the substance from the remainder of the Constitution.

It is not necessary, however, to rely upon logic alone. The Supreme Court has repeatedly said that treaties cannot override constitutional rights. The Bricker forces like to point to *Missouri* v. *Holland*, in which the court upheld a treaty with Great Britain in behalf of Canada for the protection of migratory birds. An act of Congress for the same purpose had previously been held unconstitutional in a lower court because the control of birds is one of the powers reserved to the states by the Tenth Amendment. When it became a question of dealing with another nation in regard to migratory birds, however, the federal government had to act, because the states are not permitted to deal directly with foreign powers. In this sense the resort to the treaty power did



Senator Bricker

create national authority that could not otherwise have been exercised. But Justice Holmes was careful to point out in the opinion upholding the statute which gave effect to the migratory-bird treaty that the power to make treaties is not unlimited. "The treaty in question," he wrote, "does not contravene any prohibitory words to be found in the Constitution."

Still more explicit is the court's opinion in *Geofroy* v. *Riggs* (1890), when it upheld the right of a French citizen to inherit land in the District of Columbia under the Treaty of 1853. In explaining the scope of the treaty power the court observed:

> It would not be contended that it extends so far as to authorize what the Constitution forbids, or a change in the character of the government . . .

Instead of being unlimited, the treaty power is circumscribed by some of the severest restraints known to our check-and-balance system. If the President should ever violate his oath by sponsoring a treaty in conflict with the Bill of Rights, it could be voted down by one-third plus one of the Senate. Should the Senate be tricked or intimidated, the offensive treaty could be upset by the Supreme Court. And even if a majority of the Supreme Court should succumb to the virus of some new and subversive internationalism, Congress could nullify the treaty overnight, so far as any domestic repercussions might be concerned, by passing a simple resolution.

The "menacing loophole" in the Constitution that the revisionists talk about, therefore, simply does not exist. It is readily apparent from the resolution itself, moreover, that Senator Bricker is not merely trying to keep the treaty power in its traditional groove. Section 2 would create a no man's land in which the treaty power could not operate. This it would do by outlawing any treaty permitting a foreign power or international organization "to supervise, control, or adjudicate" constitutional rights of American citizens within the United States "or any other matter essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of the United States."

NO ONE KNOWS precisely what is meant by the latter phrase. Presumably it forbids American participation in the International Monetary Fund, the International Telecommunications Union, the World Health Organization, and all similar agencies maintaining some degree of supervision over activities that are usually left to domestic regulation. The language strongly suggests also that international control of atomic energy—the only hope of arresting the race in atomic weapons—would be placed beyond reach of the treaty power. Senator Bricker vehemently rejects this interpretation but offers no comprehensive guide to indicate what is, or is not, "essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of the United States."

Some experts believe that Section 2 would leave the United States without power to enter into agreements to resist aggression through the United Nations, for this sort of activity is supervised and controlled by the Security Council. The United Nations Charter contemplates the creation of a Military Staff Committee that would control all the anti-aggression forces assigned to U. N. duty. Already an international agency controls our vast investment of men and money in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Would these defense arrangements also be outlawed?

It is true, of course, that the prevail-

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ing concept of what is within a nation's domestic jurisdiction changes from time to time. As free nations are driven into closer relationships for their own protection, what is regarded as domestic will inevitably be narrowed and what is regarded as international will be expanded. Meanwhile, however, it would be suicidal for a leading world power to deny itself the authority to place under allied control activities that may previously have been regarded as domestic. In these days of cold war and perpetual crises the risk of having our foreign policies upset by an arbitrary formula fabricated from such unpredictable phrases as "domestic jurisdiction" ought to send cold chills up the spine of any responsible statesman.

WHILE narrowing the scope of the treaty power, Mr. Bricker would also make it more difficult to get a treaty into operation. Section 3 of his resolution provides that "a treaty shall become effective as internal law in the United States only through the enactment of appropriate legislation by the Congress." A similar provision was defeated in the Constitutional Convention of 1787 by a vote of eight to one. Nothing has since happened to reflect on the soundness of that judgment.

There are, to be sure, many instances in which treaties by their own terms require separate legislation to make them effective as internal law. The Genocide Convention and the present drafts of the proposed Conventions on Human Rights and Freedom of Information, about which Senator Bricker and his cohorts protest so much, are all non-self-executing. There seems to be little chance of these conventions getting through the Senate, but in any event they would encounter precisely the sort of double check that Senator Bricker is trying to impose on all treaties.

A lower court in California gave a good deal of impetus to the Bricker movement when it held that a pledge in the United Nations Charter to promote human rights without distinctions as to race is the law of the land. That had not been the understanding when the Charter was drafted and ratified. The Supreme Court of California soon set the situation right, however, by ruling that the pledge in the Charter is not self-executing. The court found in the equal-protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment ample authority to strike down the racial discriminations of California's Alien Land Law.

No constitutional amendment is needed, therefore, to regulate the translation of treaties into law. If an extra check seems desirable in specific instances, it can be required by the President or by the Senate in consenting to ratification. And where there is no reason for such precautions, as in the adoption of treaties of friendship and commerce, which have traditionally been self-executing, time-wasting rigmarole should be avoided. There has been no abuse of this power, and a compulsory double ratification would serve only the purpose of obstruction.

It is sometimes said that this provision requiring an act of Congress to make such treaties the law of the land would bring American practice into line with that of other countries. But that is a reckless half-truth. Under a parliamentary system the party or coalition in power can automatically put its treaties through the legislature which it controls. The nearest approach to this that could be made under our Presidential system would be to have treaties approved by simple majorities in the House and Senate. At various times there has been strong agitation for a reform of this sort. But it finds no place in the Bricker amendment. The Brickerites retain the two-thirds-vote hurdle in the Senate and pile on top of it the requirement of majority votes in the House and Senate. No major country burdens its Foreign Office with such futile supererogation.

SOME OFFICIALS in the State Department are even more worried over the squeeze play that Section 4 of the resolution would authorize as to executive agreements. In the first century and a half of its existence the United States entered into nearly 2,000 pacts of which 1,200 were executive agreements. Even such vital actions as the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands and Texas and the surrender of Germany in 1945 were accomplished through executive agreements. John Bassett Moore once said that without this power the Secretary of State would find it "impossible to conduct the business of his office." Yet Senator Bricker would lift control over this function out of the executive branch and confer it upon Congress.

Mr. Bricker's resolution closes in on executive agreements like two jaws of a vise. On one side he would allow the President to make "executive or other agreements" only "in the manner and to the extent to be prescribed by law." Apparently the President could not even agree to receive a foreign dignitary, to exchange ambassadors, or to halt a war by means of a truce without Congressional consent. With the Senate still plagued by filibusters, our relations with our allies could thus be paralyzed by a handful of malcontents.

The other jaw of the vise is a rigid provision that executive agreements "shall be subject to the limitations imposed on treaties, or the making of treaties, by this article." In other words, Congress would have to give its consent after as well as before the making of such agreements. While most executive agreements, in current practice, do have legislative sanction in one form or another, these rigid limitations would impose critical handicaps on the day-to-day conduct of our foreign affairs.

Especially disastrous, if the amendment should be literally enforced, would be the effect on the President's power as commander-in-chief of the armed forces to make agreements with our allies in time of war. In practice, however, public sentiment would probably demand a free hand for the President in the conduct of a war, and this segment of the resolution would become a dead letter. Where the pinch would be more likely to come would be in arranging the numerous details incident to the making of peace.

It is doubtful whether any proposed amendment fraught with so much danger to our constitutional system and to our standing as a nation has ever won so much favor in the Senate. Apparently legislators have viewed it as a mild and relatively harmless protest against some international policies which do not have their sympathy. If so, they are harboring a dangerous illusion. The Bricker Resolution strikes directly at the ties that hold the free world together. Its approval as constitutional law would cause dismay to our friends all over the globe and give our enemies new hope that the American giant is bent on self-defeat if not self-destruction.

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J. Alvarez del Vayo

Vishinsky Returns

MR. VISHINSKY returned to New York at a good moment. Two pieces of week-end news—the amnesty and reduction of sentences decreed for many classes of prisoners in Russia by the Soviet government and the Communist offer to exchange sick and wounded prisoners in Korea, coupled with the proposal for a resumption of the truce talks—made a profound impression in the United Nations. But even if an armistice should be concluded, the political problems surrounding the Korean conflict would remain and would keep Mr. Vishinsky very busy.

It is true that the expectation of drastic action in the Far East after the advent of the new Administration in Washington has not been fulfilled. But the fact remains, in the opinion of many qualified observers here, that final defeat of Communist China has become a fixed goal of American foreign policy. Only by keeping that most important fact in mind can the complexity of the situation be fully grasped.

The "roll-back" policy applied to China cannot be taken lightly. It is inspired by the conviction of powerful groups in this country that the third world war will be lost or won on the battlefields of Asia, and that unless the Communist regime in China is overthrown, nothing can prevent the rest of the Asiatic continent from becoming Communist sooner or later. The only alternative would be for Mao Tse-tung to turn Titoist and break with Moscow, but every present sign points in the opposite direction.

As long as this view prevails in influential American circles, it is most unlikely that Vishinsky can accept a peace formula for Korea that leaves the diplomatic position of Communist China unchanged. To do so would violate the solidarity between the Soviet Union and Communist China, which seems to have increased rather than diminished in strength since the death of Stalin.

As far as Russia is concerned, any

Andrei Vishinsky

agreement on Korea must include the assurance that a representative of Mao Tse-tung will one day replace Chiang Kai-shek's spokesman at the U. N. This demand becomes more imperative in the degree in which American policy is directed toward the defeat of Chinese communism and American help is sent to the lord of Formosa. Membership in the United Nations would of course offer only a minimum of diplomatic protection; but Mr. Vishinsky will fight to obtain this minimum. This is not pure speculation. The government of New Delhi, which has continued to explore the sentiments of Peking, has come to the same conclusion.

I am convinced that Mr. Vishinsky brings with him definite instructions to extend to the United Nations the campaign for a general settlement of all pending questions—Korea, Germany, and the rest—launched by Premier Malenkov and sustained by the series of conciliatory gestures which have been the subject of so many comments during the past few weeks. The majority of these comments are, however, inspired by views that seem to me fundamentally wrong. The Soviet peace campaign is being interpreted as the desperate action of scared men or as the wise action of new and wiser men, instead of as an established policy, clearly defined by both Stalin and Malenkov at the last party congress.

As the danger grows that the cold war may degenerate into actual war, Soviet diplomacy is expanding its activity in all directions. Until a Big Four conference or an Eisenhower-Malenkov meeting is arranged, Soviet propaganda will use any medium and every opportunity to repeat its thesis of coexistence and its suggestion of a large-scale top-level debate on major issues. The United Nations provides an ideal forum for such propaganda. Mr. Vishinsky's appointment as permanent delegate does not therefore mean—as has been generally assumed—that he has been demoted, but rather that the diplomatic importance of the U. N. is being emphasized. Now Mr. Vishinsky will be at the U. N. permanently. He will be seeing delegates, he will have the tribune of the Security Council at his disposal, and will be able to complement the work of Mr. Molotov in Moscow.

Of course the debate this week in the Political Committee that ended in the defeat of the Czechoslovak resolution charging the United States with using Mutual Security funds to finance espionage and subversion in the countries of the Soviet area hardly offered evidence that the Soviet tone had substantially changed. Mr. Gromyko may have felt compensated by the number of abstentions—fourteen this time—and by the fact that the representatives of several Arab states, in explaining their abstention, identified themselves with the Russian denunciation of "international Zionism." But let no one be deceived by the violent tone of the Soviet speeches. It would be utterly wrong to deduce from them that Malenkov's peace campaign has been merely an episode. Nor should Mr. Vishinsky's mission be judged by the first days of his reappearance in the United Nations. It is a long-term operation.

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A Fillip for Labor

The U. A. W. Convention . . *by Arthur Eggleston*

Atlantic City, N. J.

THE fourteenth constitutional convention of the C. I. O. United Automobile Workers made one thing clear: the C. I. O. is not going to disintegrate. It has strengthened its bargaining position with the American Federation of Labor in the coming unity talks, and if the U. A. W.'s economic and political program is carried out, it should be stronger in other ways. The breach between the two biggest unions in the C. I. O., which together account for over 50 per cent of its 4,200,000 members, appears to have been closed by the assurance given the U. A. W. delegates by David J. McDonald, president of the United Steelworkers, that "the Steelworkers will not destroy the C. I. O." Both unions will drive for a guaranteed annual wage and for organic unity with the A. F. of L. without sacrifice of industrial-union principles.

Organized labor's most imperative need has been to clear up the low-wage, non-union areas, particularly in the South. If, by a miracle, unity with the A. F. of L. could be achieved, many obstacles to an effective organizing drive would be removed. One difficulty, however, would remain—the attitude of both the C. I. O. and the A. F. of L. toward the United Mine Workers and other independent unions. It is with these unions that the fiercest jurisdictional battles are fought, and "organizing the already organized" dissipates the energies and funds of all.

The problem of run-away plants is acute for all labor organizations. It will be attacked from two sides if a real organizing drive is launched and if the automobile workers and the steelworkers carry out their announced purpose to make a guaranteed annual wage "the next major collective-bargaining goal" in coming contract negotiations. This two-pronged attack on insecurity means of course a head-on clash with powerful employer groups which in 1946 chose the South as a "refuge" from unionism.

The delegates approved almost unanimously a statement on foreign policy proposing that the United States continue efforts "to find a basis for negotiating settlements of issues which threaten war between the Communist and the free nations of the world." While not expressing confidence in the *bona fides* of Premier Malenkov's remark of March 15 that there are no disputed or undecided questions that cannot be decided by "peaceful means," the resolution declared that this "can be determined by sitting down with the leaders of the Kremlin and talking concrete cases." One of the concrete cases cited was Korea.

Walter Reuther

The same statement denounced "reckless military adventurers" who would support Chiang Kai-shek's "hopeless attempts to reestablish himself as a leader of the Chinese people." It condemned any despotism which thwarts the aspirations of the peoples of the world for freedom, whether "imposed by other nations which bind them to colonial status, or by foreign corporations which extract the wealth without just recompense, or by their ruling classes which monopolize their land and exploit the workers." The Bricker resolution limiting the power of government to make treaties was strongly opposed, and President Eisenhower was criticized because "on the crucial question of Korea immoral and unrealizable campaign promises have evaporated."

On the domestic front, the U. A. W. expressed its belief that President Eisenhower's election was a personal triumph and that "the American people in no sense repudiated the goals for human welfare and economic and social progress they have indorsed in the past twenty years." In agreement with the increasing number of labor leaders who object to making the labor movement the "captive" of one political party, the convention called for a "new alignment of political forces in America," with a clear demarcation between a party "standing for the people" and a party "representing prosperity, privilege, and profits."

The best way to achieve this end was held to be the encouragement of "an independent political-action movement" by labor, working farmers, and other liberal forces. The practical steps proposed were to throw full labor support behind liberals in Congress, state legislatures, and local governing bodies, to keep an accurate record of votes in the Eighty-third Congress, and to call a national conference of labor, farm, and other liberal forces in the spring of 1956, before the party conventions. In the meantime similar conferences should be held in each state to map plans for state and Congressional elections. But the immediate task was to set up local labor and farmer committees to build "independent political-action machinery in every Congressional district in which the U. A. W.–C. I. O. has membership." (The U. A. W. has local unions in some thirty states.)

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The convention took a strong position on the subject of civil liberties. "Step by step a rule of fear and smear is being imposed upon us by some who see in it a road to political power and by others who hope to turn it to profitable account in a business way," the convention's resolution declared. "Under the guise of protecting us from Communists, unscrupulous men are using their posts in Congressional investigating committees to denounce their fellow-citizens without proof, condemning them on charges of anonymous informers, denying them the right to know and to confront their accusers, and refusing them fair opportunity to speak up in their own defense."

While Congressional committees get the headlines, the U. A. W. declared, the Defense Department's Industrial Employment Board, the Atomic Energy Commission, and various "loyalty" programs are equally guilty of denying due process to persons accused or suspected. U. A. W. members were asked to cooperate with church leaders, educators, and parents "in defending our schools against the attack of unscrupulous investigators and to fight back against every assault that is made upon the liberties of the American people." The resolution, however, was weakened by the fact that it called merely for amendment of the Smith act, the McCarran Internal Security Act, and the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act "so that these laws will fully protect the security of our nation without endangering the civil liberties of the people." The theory that the danger to civil liberties is only a by-product of these acts can hardly be substantiated.

A twenty-three-point legislative program formulated by the convention included defense of the Employment Act of 1946 as insurance against future unemployment, amendment of the Taft-Hartley act, repeal of little Taft-Hartley acts, blocking of the offshore-oil steal, tax relief for low-income groups to increase purchasing power, defense of the social-security system and state unemployment insurance laws, provisions for low-cost housing, an adequate health program, and raising the minimum wage to $1.25 an hour.

On the debit side of the convention ledger should be placed the decision to give the International Executive Board greater power "to run the local down on the bottom," as one delegate put it. A proposal by the top leadership to permit the International Board to review decisions of trial committees in local unions was adopted by overwhelming vote. President Reuther said the purpose of the change was "to make it possible that in cases of specific kinds of charges . . . charges related to (1) people who are either Communists or Fascists, (2) people who are racketeers or gangsters, and (3) people involved in embezzlement or fraud, the International Executive, if it believed there was a miscarriage of justice, could have the case retried." Since Reuther controlled 90 per cent or more of the delegates, the opposition, though highly articulate, was ineffective.

The larger implications of this grant of power to the International to retry a case already decided by a local union trial committee may be more important than its effect within the U. A. W. Congress is now considering measures which would permit the government to exercise strict political control over dissenting unions by setting up official black lists of officers, members, and even of unions. The action of the U. A. W. could enable proponents of such measures to cite this limitation of local-union autonomy as a precedent for Congressional action. In fact, they have already cited a similar case. After the C. I. O. expelled a number of its unions, witnesses before the Humphrey subcommittee of the Senate Labor Committee referred to its action as a precedent for the government.

THE REAL PROKOFIEV

Now It Can Be Told . . *by Alexander Werth*

Paris

IF SERGEI PROKOFIEV realized that he was dying at the same time as Stalin, a grin must have spread across his face. It must have seemed as ironical as anything that had happened to him since he returned to the Soviet Union from his Paris "exile" in 1934, including the denunciation of him by Zhdanov and the new pundits of the Composers' Union in 1948 as one of the evil Western influences in Russia, and the description of him by that triumphant little mediocrity Tikhon Khrennikov in 1949 as a hangover of Diaghilev decadence.

Prokofiev met the attacks on him with greater equanimity and dignity than most of the other composers. Shostakovich ate platefuls of humble pie. So did Khachaturian. Miaskovsky was broken-hearted. Prokofiev shrugged his shoulders and while agreeing, in his letter to the Composers' Union, that there was a lot to be said for Socialist realism, warned musicians against the dangers of sinking into platitude and mediocrity.

> I never had the slightest doubt [he wrote] about the importance of melody, and I consider it by far the most important element in music. Nothing is more difficult to discover than a melody which would be immediately understandable even to the uninitiated listener and, at the same time, be original. Here the composer is beset by numerous dangers: he is apt to become trivial and vulgar or else dish out a repetition of something already heard before. . . . One must be particularly vigilant to make a melody simple, but without allowing it to become cheap, sickly, or imitative rubbish.

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Comrades Khrennikov and company could put that in their pipes and smoke it. What had they ever written to equal, in the way of melody, the choruses of "Alexander Nevsky," the great main theme of Prokofiev's "Ode to Stalin," the scherzo of his Fifth Symphony, or some of the tunes of "Romeo" and "Cinderella"? These were all written during Prokofiev's last, or "Soviet," period, in which, as he admitted, he had "got nearer to the people" than ever before.

But his arrogance in 1948-49 was provocative, and the Khrennikovs made him suffer for it. The opera he composed during this period, which he promised would be in the "new line," was disdainfully rejected by the Composers' Union, though it dealt with a war theme and was full of "folk elements." But gradually a *modus vivendi* was established between Prokofiev and the party. The composer was willing to go halfway, and the party decided it would be folly to waste or drive to despair the most brilliant of Soviet musicians. So Prokofiev wrote his "Peace Oratorio" for a children's chorus, with its Peter and the Wolf elements—which were quite acceptable—and with the highly "prokofievist" satirical movement about the American capitalists and warmongers, which was even more acceptable. Much else that he wrote received high praise, and finally his Seventh Symphony, apparently his last work, was greeted by the Soviet press with unanimous enthusiasm; the critics remarked on his marvelous lyrical genius, a genius which had so often been hidden in the past behind a façade of sardonic sophistication. This Seventh Symphony was, indeed, regarded as a sort of final reconciliation between Prokofiev and the Stalin regime, though perhaps the praise was partly at least a sop to a sick man who had been treated a little too rough and who was, after all, probably the greatest Soviet composer.

PROKOFIEV had a curiously mixed attitude to the Soviet Union. There were undoubtedly moments when he hankered for the "artistic freedom" of the West. Yet he was profoundly Russian at heart, and even the bureaucrats of the Composers' Union could not destroy his feeling that he had deep roots in the country. He was quite sincere when he said that

Prokofiev

he loved inventing good melodies and that originality did not exclude "Russianism."

Although writing odes to Stalin was not quite in his line, it must have given him great satisfaction to feel that he had written by far the loveliest of those odes—his "Zdravitsa" of 1939. In the last few years he seems to have decided that, on balance, there was more for him to do, and a wider audience for his work, in the Soviet Union than in the West. Obviously he was unhappy about some things: the deportation to the north of his half-Spanish, half-French ex-wife, who had an incurable habit of hobnobbing with foreign diplomats in Moscow, cannot have been a pleasant experience for him.

I used to see Prokofiev very often during my years in Moscow. He was a familiar figure at concerts, with his tall lanky body, his long gorilla-like arms with the fine pianist's hands at the end of them, and the grin that was boyish at one moment and disdainful and cynical the next. He looked juvenile in his fifties, and yet formidably certain of himself and of his reputation.

I remember having a long talk with him in 1945, when he had just completed his Fifth Symphony. He loved to show off his English, which he spoke fluently and almost without accent. Of his new symphony, he said:

> The idea of this symphony is a pretty old one—many of the themes are two or three years old; I set them down in my theme book and then put them aside. When the time came, I was ready to work very fast—I wrote the whole thing in a month, on a three- or four-line score. Then I stopped for a month or two and took the thing up again, and in another month I finished it.

"How," I asked, "do the themes come to you?"

> Well, I somehow have a feeling that a musical idea wants to pop out [that was the exact word he used]; sometimes it happens when I am sitting at the piano, sometimes not. Sometimes a theme comes in the middle of the night; I then turn on the light and write it down. If I leave it till the morning, I am apt to forget. I believe in the Schumann principle of composing in your head and then checking it on the piano. Eventually the themes begin to group themselves into a composition—if one is certain enough that they belong to the same composition.

On the subject of style Prokofiev said:

> If a composer has discovered a language, an idiom, of his own, and then goes on using it forever, he dies as an artist. In the main I have my language, but I don't want to be satisfied with it and go to sleep in the happy belief that having mastered the "Prokofiev language" I need not look for anything new. Too much has been said about the "grotesque" in my music. It's the talk of ignoramuses with untrained ears. They did not realize that there was a strong lyrical strain in my first period, as well as later.

And on his own taste in music:

> I like Brahms, but when I analyze Brahms, I find that he is never perfect. His melodies are weaker than Chopin's or Liszt's. His orchestration and counterpoint are not of the highest quality; and yet he has something of the essence of music which is truly captivating. I prefer Beethoven to Mozart—in spite of my "Mozartian" Classical Symphony. But I've loved Beethoven ever since childhood. I frankly prefer Schumann to Chopin, even though Chopin had a better mastery of his material, was a better melodist, and was technically much superior. And naturally I prefer Moussorgsky to Tchaikovsky; Tchaikovsky had immense creative power, but his composing power was not so hot! Rachmaninov—well, I'd rather say nothing about him. The truth is—we hated each other's guts!

Pleased with his colloquialisms, Prokofiev grinned broadly. He then said he was "interested" in what Shostakovich was doing, though he thought he had not concentrated on melody sufficiently and was apt to ramble. "I don't think he should cover such enormous space in his symphonies; he should be more precise and compact."

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"What about Soviet music generally?" I asked. He gave a grin and a shrug and a vague gesture of deprecation—or of comic despair. "Need we talk about that?" he laughed. But then he continued:

No, we really have some good men. There's old man Miaskovsky. A lot of his stuff is good, if only he weren't so lazy about inventing anything fresh. Khachaturian is gifted, but he'll have to work a lot more before he really attains perfection. Of the younger people, I'd say the best were Weinberg—very interesting, very free; Knipper, who has a marvelous sense of the orchestra and whose handling of Oriental themes is sometimes very good; and Gabriel Popov—he is still "soft" and lacking in a proper constructive sense, but he is talented, and may produce results in time.

All this was pretty lukewarm praise; he had named only six Soviet composers who he thought were good or potentially good.

"But the others, Mr. Prokofiev?"

"What others? Oh, those"—he hesitated for a second—"those babes in arms!"

It was the "babes in arms" who, three years later, were to tell Prokofiev how to compose "acceptable" music. I did not do him the disservice of quoting his remark, but the "babes in arms" knew what he thought of them, for caution and discretion were not among Prokofiev's virtues.

Perhaps the greatest miracle of Prokofiev is that, unlike Shostakovich, most of whose latest music is little more than imitation Moussorgsky, he should have managed in some measure to adapt his creative genius to the musical world of the "babes in arms"—and still remain his own unmistakable self, and make the "babes" look silly.

RED CHINA DIARY

II. Germ-War Exhibit . . *by Desmond Donnelly*

London

AS TO THE germ war, to my amazement the Chinese never mentioned it, nor did they raise the question of the Korean prisoners unless I brought it up first myself. On my last night in Peking I was approached by Dr. Joseph Needham, a British scientist then visiting China. At that time I did not know the object of his visit. Later I was to discover that he was one of the authors of the germ-war report now published. He asked me and my M.P. colleagues if we would like to visit a germ-war exhibition incognito before we left for Nanking. "Sure," we said.

It was dark when we arrived, and I noticed as the car swung in through the gates that troops kept the entrance clear so that no one could see who was in the car. The exhibition was well done, but anybody knows that an exhibition is not necessarily evidence. It began with panels of enlargements of pages taken from *Life* and *Time* dealing with American investigations into germ warfare It continued with details of the alleged incidents—the time, place, and so on. There were pictures of Chinese peasants who had given testimony and pictures and case histories of the people who had died of the various diseases which the Chinese claim were spread by American airmen. A whole section was devoted to insects in test tubes and rats in spirit bottles which it was claimed had been dropped from the air, and some of which it was alleged belonged to species unknown in China or Korea. Not being a scientist, I can make no comment.

Then we came to examples of American leaflet bombs and a parachute canister which it was said had been used to drop the insects. I raised with the Chinese the point that the apparatus on view looked very primitive. "If the Americans had really gone in for germ war, I should have thought they would have done it in super-duper fashion," I said. The Chinese agreed and said that they could only give their opinion that it was a small experimental unit.

Farther on we saw the "confessions" in their own handwriting of the American airmen whom the Chinese had captured. And finally we heard recording of the voices of Lieutenants Quinn and Enoch. Here the interesting thing seemed to be that they did not make the usual vague statements, like, "Sure, we are guilty of all this: a wicked American fascist beast told us to do it." Their stories were detailed: "I was briefed by Captain Wilson of the United States army air force at such a time and such a place. Present at the briefing was so-and-so." In fact, the most detailed documentation appeared to be given. I make no comment. I merely report.

I TRAVELED to Nanking by train. Each coach carried four guards with tommy-guns who jumped out on to the line every time the train stopped. What they were guarding us against I never discovered. Apparently trains in China always carry guards.

We spent a day in Chiang Kai-shek's capital, a wide spacious city. On the docks we saw Chinese junks bringing wood-oil from the interior and ferrying liquid eggs down the Yangtze. In the morning we went out to see the tomb of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the revolutionary leader of pre-Communist China. Visiting the tomb along with us was a group of Chinese high-school girls thoroughly enjoying their day out. To my amazement they insisted on giving us a rousing chorus of Chinese folk songs on the

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DESMOND DONNELLY, a Labor Member of Parliament, visited China a few months ago on the invitation of the Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs. The first part of his article appeared last week.

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steps of the tomb and then demanded "Daisy, Daisy, Boops a Daisy" in reply. I couldn't help contrasting this with Lenin's tomb in Moscow, which the crowds still file past in awestruck silence in queues never less than a quarter of a mile long.

Traveling east to Shanghai I was puzzled by the question, "And would you

like to meet the national bourgeoisie, Mr. Donnelly?" What an extraordinary people, I thought. I was very curious by the time the "national bourgeoisie" came to dinner in the luxurious Kin Kong Hotel where I stayed. They turned out to be Red China's capitalists. One was Mr. Yung, whose diamond tie-pin glittered as he offered me a cigarette from his gold case.

"What do you do?" I asked him.

"I am the owner of the Sung Sing Spinning and Weaving Company employing 18,000 workers. I own six factories," he answered.

"What on earth are you doing in a Communist country?" I asked.

"Making money at last," was the suave, self-confident reply.

THAT EVENING we had a long discussion, and as toast followed toast in Chinese rice wine Mr. Yung and I became more friendly. The "national bourgeoisie," I discovered, are quite different from the "bureaucratic capitalists," using the terminology of Communist China. The former are capitalists who have made their peace with the Communist regime and now, protected from foreign competition, are doing extremely well. The latter are those who were associated with Chiang Kai-shek and had to flee the country.

"How long do you think your money-making will last, Mr. Yung?" I said. "They say twenty years," he replied. "In the old days, inflation and labor troubles robbed me of my profits. Today trade unions organize my workers. Production and profits are booming." This was strange commentary on capitalism in a Communist country!

I met an investment banker. He said he was quite free to do what he liked with his money, and since 80 per cent of China's economy is still in private hands, there was still plenty of scope. As the evening wore on, I tried hard to catch out these gentlemen, but not once did I succeed. At the end they were looking the worse for wear, but not from cross-examination. I felt, too, that I had earned their respect as I walked quite steadily to the door.

In Shanghai I visited a model housing estate, showpiece of the new housing in Communist China. It is certainly a vast improvement on the insanitary conditions of the past. Houses are pleasant and clean and airy, although, of course, by our Western standards a family of several people living in one room is not acceptable. The people were delighted with their new homes, without any doubt at all. But it will be many years before any real impact is made on the housing situation.

I also visited in Shanghai a state-run textile dyeing and printing works and one of Mr. Yung's spinning and weaving factories, which employed 6,000 workers. The state factory was comparatively small, with 1,360 employees. The boss took us round. He said he had previously been a miner but had won a scholarship and become a factory manager. I wondered if this was suitable apprenticeship, and I formed the impression that the person who really ran the factory was the trade-union leader—young, capable, and confident. Working hours had been reduced to ten a day, six days a week.

In Mr. Yung's factory the manager was undoubtedly boss, although he was assisted at every turn by a pretty girl who said she was chairman of the union of 6,000 workers. The machinery in Mr. Yung's factory was more modern; some of it American and some of it British, imported since World War II.

On our way back from Shanghai to Peking we saw from the air the great Huai Valley irrigation and flood-control scheme. Designed to harness the flood waters of the great Yangtze, this is a T. V. A. to beat all T. V. A.'s. For a hundred years it has been talked about. In 1948 the Communists actually began it, and they plan to have it finished in 1955. Working on it are two million men. The deputy engineering director of the whole scheme, I was told, is a girl of twenty-nine.

AND WHAT of relations between China and Russia? Not until I was almost stepping on the plane for home did I get my clue. "You will need some money to buy food on your trip across Russia," said Mr. Chi, governor of the Bank of China, who had come to see us off. "In case you haven't any rubles, here are two hundred American dollars."

"Have you not any rubles you could let us have?" I asked.

"Alas, no," said Mr. Chi, despite the fact that he was the chief financial boss of Red China.

And then it occurred to me to ask: "Shall we get the official artificial rate of exchange which the Russians insist on with the American embassy officials in Moscow or the real world-market rate, which is much more favorable?"

Mr. Chi looked sad. "I am afraid you will only get the official rate," he said.

On my way home I could not help contrasting the Chinese with the Russians. In Russia my papers and camera had been taken and sealed. In China no one had minded. As I was leaving the airport the Foreign Office official said to me, "We notice you have taken many photographs, Mr. Donnelly. If there is anything militarily damaging to China in them, I hope we can rely on you to destroy it."

When we got to Irkutsk, we were given an even more thorough examination at the customs than we had been given coming from the hostile West. All our papers were emptied out and our cameras taken. The customs official knocked on a little trapdoor in the wall. The door opened, disclosing darkness behind. A sinister-looking hand came out and scooped away our belongings. Later they were returned to us sealed, including an English translation of a Chinese book I had bought, "How to Be a Good Communist," by Liu Shao Chi. "This is not to be opened in Russia," were my strict instructions!

Yet in conclusion I must record a

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pleasant incident at Minsk on the last lap of our journey home. We were counting up what rubles we had left at the lunch table in the airport restaurant. When we came to pay the bill, a young Russian sitting at the next table leaped forward and grabbed it. "I speak English," he said. "I couldn't help hearing what you were saying. It is a matter of national honor and you must allow me to pay." We said we could not possibly agree to such a thing, charmed though we were by his generosity. However, he was adamant. It transpired that he was a diplomatic messenger who had been to America and thus learned some English.

As I sit on my lawn at home again, dictating my story in the sunshine, China seems another world, but an important one whose part in current history cannot be ignored.

TV COMMERCIALS

by Frank Orme

Los Angeles

ASIDE from the ethical objections to over-long, offensive, fraudulent and semi-fraudulent television commercials, there is a practical question which broadcasters might well consider: Is television endangering its economic future by undermining the confidence of the public in its integrity as an advertising medium?

At a recent meeting of advertising executives in Los Angeles the district representative of General Electric's small-appliances division said: "Television commercials have almost reached the point where I don't believe a dog-gone thing I hear on the air. For instance, we haven't manufactured a certain vacuum cleaner for twelve years. Yet it is being boosted on TV as the latest thing." And a few weeks ago Paul Price, critic of the Los Angeles *Daily News,* called upon the National Association of Radio and Television Broadcasters to "junk its so-called 'Seal of Good Practice'," the symbol used by 90 per cent of all television stations in the country to show they comply with the television code adopted by the industry on March 1, 1952. Price wrote: "It [the Seal] doesn't mean a thing. . . . The very stations that have been permitting dishonest pitchmen to peddle the mastic paints, carpets, and freezer food plants—all completely discredited now—are the same ones that make much of their Seal of Good Practice. Seal of Malpractice would be more fitting."

These are not isolated protests. They are but a tiny part of the swelling volume of dissatisfaction expressed by viewers and commentators in both the trade and the regular press. The million and a quarter set owners in Los Angeles have learned that TV fare includes hundred of plugs for $8.95 vacuum cleaners, $19.50 sewing machines, hair removers and hair oil, chlorophyll pills, cigarettes, and used cars which "have just been sold" when prospective buyers appear to snap up the bargains. The managements of TV stations have let down the bars to all sorts of misleading statements and ignored all standards of good taste.

Los Angeles, of course, is a particularly rewarding hunting ground for the video hucksters, but their activities are not confined to this area. *Advertising Age,* the national trade weekly published in Chicago, remarked some time ago:

> It is truly amazing to find that TV, with so bright a future, is willing to mortgage its wonderful prospects for slight immediate advantage. The mortgaging is being done by the acceptance of high-pressure, scarcely credible, and scarcely honest advertising that observes the rules of the 1870 pitchman, and practically nothing else. Not all stations are guilty of accepting this kind of business, but it is surprising, to say the least, to discover it on reputable and presumably prosperous outlets. It violates the spirit and letter of every radio and television code. It is, in fact, the kind of advertising which most media won't touch with a ten-foot pole.

The TV code, subscribed to by all four of the networks, "suggests" time standards for good advertising practice which limit presentation of commercials to a maximum of six minutes an hour for evening time and to seven minutes an hour during day or late night hours. However, during the past months I have frequently timed commercials on programs regularly scheduled by networks and found they ran to more than ten minutes during single half-hours. Recently I sat at a TV set for more than eight hours on a Saturday afternoon and evening clocking commercials presented by an independent Los Angeles station which subscribes to the TV code. In the successive hours the time consumed by commercials was 9 minutes 30 seconds, 7 minutes 25 seconds, 5 minutes 40 seconds, 9 minutes 35 seconds, 14 minutes 15 seconds, 13 minutes 15 seconds, 4 minutes 30 seconds, and 14 minutes 40 seconds.

HOW DOES station acceptance of shoddy off-color advertising affect the economy of the industry? Are legitimate merchants staying away from TV because they do not want their products associated with the numerous high-pressure pitch deals? Has the public become wary to the point that it is suspicious of all television advertising? Advertising-agency executives are beginning to ask themselves these questions. And set owners are beginning to ask themselves whether they must accept the standards of the carnival pitchman as the price for listening to TV programs in their living-rooms.

When I discussed the situation with Klaus Landsberg, general manager of television station KTLA in Los Angeles and vice-president of Paramount Television Productions, he referred me to the record of his own station. KTLA, it appears, maintains the highest standards in commercials, with respect both to length and to content, of any of the seven Los Angeles stations; in 1952 KTLA donated to the community the equivalent of more than $350,000 in free, unsponsored time; and KTLA operates at a profit in a market where three or four competitive stations are in the red. In this instance, at least, public service, good taste, and protection against misleading advertising are compatible with economic sense.

FRANK ORME, editor of TV *magazine, has contributed several articles to* The Nation.

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BOOKS

Soviet Russia As It Is

A Review by Mark Gayn

STALIN VERSUS MARX. By Klaus Menhert. The Macmillan Company. $2.

THE RUSSIANS IN FOCUS. By Harold J. Berman. Atlantic Monthly Press Book. Little, Brown and Company. $3.

RUSSIA AND HER COLONIES. By Walter Kolarz. Frederick Praeger. $6.

MINERALS. A KEY TO SOVIET POWER. By Demitri B. Shimkin. Harvard University Press. $8.

THE ULTIMATE WEAPON. By Oleg Anisimov. Henry Regnery Company. $3.50.

THE END OF A REVOLUTION. By Fritz Sternberg. The John Day Company. $3.

A CENTURY OF CONFLICT. By Stefan T. Possony. Henry Regnery Company. $7.50.

STALIN. A SELF-PORTRAIT. Farrar, Straus and Young. $1.

STALIN. By Nikolaus Basseches. Translated from the German by E. W. Dickes. E. P. Dutton and Company. $4.75.

MY UNCLE JOSEPH STALIN. By Budu Svanidze. Translated by Waverly Root. G. P. Putnam's Sons. $3.

NEVER, not even in the infant days of Bolshevism, has Russia loomed so large in world affairs as it does today. The death of Americans in Korea, the political strains in Europe, the end of Democratic rule in Washington, and in fact the very political climate in which we find ourselves today—all these, in one way or another, are by-products of communism in action.

This is the moment, then, when we must understand Russia and its rulers. Does the Communist Party hold power in Russia solely because it controls the secret police and the machinery of state? Has it extended its influence over half the world merely because it is a diabolical conspiracy, as Stefan Possony appears to suggest; or does it offer something tangible to large segments of the population, as Harold Berman indicates? What will be the result of the conversion of revolutionary parties into vast, impersonal, and often incompetent bureaucracies? Is there revolutionary anti-Communist ferment in Russia, or is this, as Oleg Anisimov argues, a dangerous fantasy?

These are all questions of import to us. Yet, perhaps inevitably, even our literature has become a casualty in the ideological conflict. Dispassionate studies of the Soviet system are rare—more so here than in England, where one can still find such excellent pieces of research as Isaac Deutscher's biography of Stalin, Sir John Maynard's "Russia in Flux," or Edward Crankshaw's "Russia and the Russians." There is nothing I know in American literature that does for Soviet political thought, or "party line," what a group of Harvard professors has recently done for communism in China. And in what other era in American publishing has it been necessary for a reputable author to explain on the book jacket that though his impartial approach to Soviet problems has earned him enemies, "no one has ever accused [him] of being pro-Soviet or a fellow-traveler"?

The crop of books on Russia is rich, for its volume and diversity if not always for its quality. In the stack before me there are no Deutschers or Maynards, but there is everything from minerals to Stalin's love life. At least three of these volumes first appeared abroad; two of them are very good indeed. What is noticeably missing, however, is at least one *Soviet* book that would, through its defense of the Soviet system or its denunciation of ours, give us some insight into the workings of the Communist mind. A few weeks ago I had occasion to read some of Georgi Malenkov's choice prose. Ordinarily this might have been an exhausting task. Malenkov's emergence as the dominant figure in Russia, however, has now endowed his statements with a significance that none of the ten books before me could possibly match. It was all there—the hatred and prejudices, the hopes and nationalist pride, the faith in the party's ability to move mountains, the profound gaps in the understanding of the West, and, at times, a glimpse of our own weaknesses. It was propaganda, but it was also information essential to our own survival. Why must we depend on International Publishers to bring this knowledge to us?

BY FAR THE MOST IMPORTANT of the books before me is Dr. Klaus Mennert's "Stalin versus Marx," first issued in Germany; it is a genuine contribution to an understanding of the Soviet "party line." Menhert himself is a German historian who has spent some time in Russia and has obviously studied Russian historical works with great care. The point of departure in his inquiry is Professor Michael Pokrovsky, a Bolshevik historian who died, burdened with Soviet honors, in 1932. On May 16, 1934, in a decree signed by Stalin, Pokrovsky's historical view of Russia was condemned, and his disciples were branded as "contemptible Trotskyist agents of Fascism." Dr. Menhert's 32,000-word essay sees this decree as the beginning of a process in which Stalin's party abandoned orthodox Marxism in favor of vigorous nationalism.

What led Stalin to desert the Marxist dogma? In the early thirties, Dr. Menhert argues, Russia suffered a series of reverses that called for a reassessment of party thought and policy. It had become clear that world revolution was not around the corner. In Germany, Hitler had come to power with the help of inflamed nationalism. In Russia itself village collectivization was exacting a ghastly price. Faced with the crisis, Dr. Menhert suggests, Stalin decided that Soviet policy would have to be based less on world revolution than on the support of the Soviet peoples, and especially the Russians. An orthodox Marxist who saw the Bolshevik Revolution as the beginning of Russian history,

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MARK GAYN, author and foreign correspondent, has visited most of the Communist countries and interviewed their leaders.

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Pokrovsky had to die a second death. Then, under the party's guidance, Russian historians embarked on the twisted course of rediscovering pre-Bolshevik history, patriotism, and motherland. In the process they discarded the "foreign" Varangian chief Rurik, long regarded as founder of the Russian state, and went back six hundred years farther to pick the Scythians as the "first Russians." And since the Russians could do no wrong, the attacks of the Scythian barbarians on the highly civilized Western community of Olbia came now to be depicted as efforts to liberate the oppressed classes of Olbia. From here it was but a logical step to Malenkov's own man-hunt for the Kazakh and Kirghiz writers who dared to attack the Russian carpet-baggers of the nineteenth century.

Erudite and readable, Dr. Menhert's essay is essential to understanding the mind of Malenkov and of the "new Soviet man." It also goes well together with Professor Berman's primer on how the Stalinist dogma affects Russian life and behavior. In brief chapters, ranging in theme from the Red soldier, worker, and peasant to law and planning, Berman gives the interested but uninformed reader a close-up of the Soviet system and people. Considering its brevity, the book provides a great deal of fresh and important factual material.

WALTER KOLARZ'S volume on Soviet minorities is the third of the books that deserve a wide audience. A Czech journalist, Mr. Kolarz provides an admirable study, based primarily on Soviet sources, of what has happened to the minor components of the Soviet Union. While Stalin is credited by Communist propaganda with having solved the "question of nationalities," it is less widely known that in the post-war period alone the answer has called for the dissolution of four autonomous Soviet republics and the disappearance of four major and several minor nationalities. Their members were scattered over Siberia, and their political and cultural institutions destroyed. And, as Mr. Kolarz notes, once it was possible to disperse the Volga Germans or the Kalmuks, it was simple to champion the reshuffling of peoples in the rest of Europe, such as the uprooting of Germans from Silesia (given to Poland) and Königsberg (taken by Russia). Mr. Kolarz's material is largely unknown to the Western reader, and much of it, such as the chapter on the Jews, is of great topical interest.

Perhaps the most prodigious job of research is displayed by Dr. Shimkin's study of Soviet mineral resources. A highly technical book for the expert—or the cold-war planner—it deals with the volume and methods of production, resources, and deficiencies. Dr. Shimkin notes that while Soviet mineral strength approximates that of the United States, there has been little genuinely thorough geological study in Russia, and therefore discoveries of new resources are much more likely there than here.

WHAT ARE THE ANSWERS to the threat posed by communism and the Soviet Union? At least two of the books before me deal, in part, with possible counter-action. The most striking thing about both of them is that they are totally unconvincing.

Oleg Anisimov is a White Russian émigré who was in Riga, Latvia, when the Nazis arrived in 1941. He became an interpreter to the German Economic Inspection in Occupied Russia and later head of a German-sponsored agency in Riga helping the Russians who fled West before the Red Army's advance. In 1944 he escaped to Germany, where he remained until 1951, working with various Russian émigré groups. He is now in this country. Despite the author's background, the book is oddly dispassionate and, if one bewares of the bear traps—such as his defense of the renegade Red Army general, Vlassov—very informative. Anisimov feels that America should not count on national rivalries within the Soviet Union; nor should it expect the Russians to love advancing American troops any more than they loved the Germans; nor rely on revolutionary disaffection in Russia.

Yet, despite his close look at war-time Russia, or perhaps because of it, Anisimov's plan of action is not persuasive. What he proposes essentially is the creation of a new Department of World Affairs, which would foster anti-Communist organizations throughout the world, smuggle agents into Russia, and draft a clear political program that would appeal to the peoples under the Red flag. This is a naive answer to the problems posed by the immense political and economic forces exploited by the Communists in Asia and Europe.

Fritz Sternberg is perhaps on firmer ground when he champions a program of vast economic aid to Asia, Western rearmament, and a world-wide ideological war designed to show that Russia has betrayed its professed concern for human welfare. But unfortunately this program is not spelled out in detail, and it is part of an unsatisfactory little volume which offers neither fresh facts nor a new approach.

THREE OF THE BOOKS before me deal with the man who molded the Soviet state as we know it now. Mr. Basseches's biography of Stalin covers the man, his enemies, and his period adequately. Yet I have found the book oddly disconcerting, as much in some of the data it presents as facts as in some of the interpretations. Thus the author explains Stalin's rise in terms of the traditional hatred of the common people for the upper, or educated, class. It was the "upper-class" leaders who brought the revolution to victory in 1917, but after that the common people, as personified by local party leaders, tossed them out

For background on the news from Moscow read

THE
RUSSIANS IN FOCUS

by HAROLD J. BERMAN

■ **Drawing on information gathered from Russian D.P.'s in France and Germany and on day-by-day study for Harvard's Russian Research Center, Professor Berman neatly spotlights the important facets of Soviet society — labor, the peasantry, education, the press, religion, planning, law, the Communist party and many more. A brilliant, objective presentation of the basic minimum that any educated American should know to form judgments about the Soviet way of life.**

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In favor of a fellow-commoner, Stalin.

"Stalin—A Self-Portrait" is a collection of thirty-four photographs with brief captions, some of which are witty. As for Budu Svanidze's volume, translated by Waverly Root, it introduces to us a sort of a Georgian Lanny Budd. Mr. Svanidze, who says he is a nephew of Stalin, has had the tremendous good fortune to have been present at every major turn in Stalin's life, from two of his weddings to the period when he was deciding to purge the purger, Yagoda. It is perhaps not unexpected, then, that the outbreak of the war finds Mr. Svanidze fishing with Stalin in the Black Sea. I am persuaded by Mr. Root's preface that Mr. Svanidze is Stalin's nephew, and even that he was one of Stalin's war-time secretaries. I am less convinced, however, that Mr. Svanidze could have worked for anyone named "Lvovitch Protzaenko" or that Stalin could have referred constantly to the great Russian general as "Suvarov." One could just as well expect General Eisenhower to refer to the first President of the United States as "George Washington." As I think I indicated before, the books before me form a mixed crop.

New Books in Brief

Revolution in East Asia

NATIONALISM AND COMMUNISM IN EAST ASIA. By W. Macmahon Ball. Cambridge. $4.50. Few subjects are of greater importance than the revolution among the half of the world's people who live in East Asia. In two hundred pages of penetrating analysis, W. Macmahon Ball surveys the whole scene, country by country, from Japan to India. The common features are the struggle for national independence, for social and economic advancement, and for Asian equality with the West. Nationalism and communism are interwoven, though not identical, with these basic drives.

The spectacular success of nationalist revolts is clear in the post-war record of colonies that have won independence. Progress in social welfare is much less evident. But the struggle is there, confusing the political picture in each of the countries treated. The failure of economic development to bring broad social welfare, so evident under colonial rule, is a deeply disturbing factor.

As an Australian, Ball views East Asia from an angle which causes him to challenge many of the underlying assumptions of American policy toward each of the major countries. He raises the issue, for example, whether the recent peace treaty reduces or increases the likelihood that Japan will return to a policy of military expansion. He thinks the danger increased. He also speculates whether, in the event of war, Japan's leaders might not find their interests better served if they joined the Chinese Communists rather than the United States.

In a general chapter on East and West, Ball examines the methods available to Western governments to influence the decision of the 700,000,000 people, mostly in East Asia, who are not committed for or against communism. The military instrument is difficult to use without making more enemies than friends. Economic devices are hazardous because of the probability that they will benefit only the influential minority and thus widen the gap between an anti-Communist government and its own people. The difficulty of all psychological approaches is the difference in the morals and standards of judgment of Eastern and Western peoples. Propaganda must work through not against the great movements for nationalism, a new social order, and Asia for the Asians.

Ball concludes that if East Asia is saved from coming under the control of the Soviet Union it will not be done by Westerners but by East Asians themselves. The best hope he sees is that the latter will resist domination by the Soviet Union with the same resolve they have shown in winning freedom from domination by the West.

Mr. Brooks's Standards

THE WRITER IN AMERICA. By Van Wyck Brooks. Dutton. $3. Under this somewhat neutral title Mr. Brooks defends his own theory and practice against the "new critics" who accuse him of having no "standards." They have made criticism technical, rigorous, highly specialized, and purely aesthetic. Mr. Brooks pleads the case for the more generous attitude which recognizes the value of a literature that is not always "pure" and is a function of, rather than a realm separate from, the whole moral political, and social life of a nation. As has often been the case before, he seems to have read almost too much, and he cites almost too many opinions in support of his position, but it will seem a sensible as well as sound one to those who find it hard to take seriously the kind of "rigor" which leads John Crowe Ransom to rejoice that poetry has "lost its public support" and to insist that it should be "nothing but poetry" and that the modern poet concerned only with the "aesthetic effect" quite properly "cares nothing professionally about morals, God, or native land." No great literature, Mr. Brooks replies, was ever written upon such convictions, and whatever the limitations, past or present, of our own, they are not due to the fact that writers have usually been interested in something besides pure form. A great writer really does need something to say.

Bigness Is Bad

THE ORGANIZATIONAL REVOLUTION. By Kenneth E. Boulding. Harper. $3.50. This second volume in the series on Ethics and Economic Life sponsored by the Federal Council of Churches is a most provocative work. Professor Boulding is concerned with the economic and ethical consequences of the tremendous growth of organizations—corporations and business associations, trade unions, farmer groups, and, above all, governments—that has taken place in the last century. It is a development he tends to deplore, both as economist and as Christian of the Quaker persuasion, because it has undermined the free market which, he believes, is at once the most efficient and least coercive regulator of economic life. The market, Boulding argues, diffuses power; organizations, and most of all the state, concentrate it.

This is not an unfamiliar argument, but Boulding presents it with a freshness and sincerity that should inspire fruitful discussion. Indeed, it has already done so. The concluding section

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of the book contains a long and stimulating essay by Reinhold Niebuhr challenging both its premises and its conclusions, followed by a reply from the author, who also deals with briefer comments by various economists, theologians, sociologists, and business men.

Service Side Lights

PENTAGON POLITICS. By William H. Neblett. Pageant Press. $3. While this volume by a former president of the Reserve Officers Association is largely devoted to a statement of the case for a "citizen military force" on the Swiss model, it contains some by-products which are of more interest perhaps than the main theme. For example, what Colonel Neblett has to say about the admirals and generals who since the war have retired on full pay to become lobbyists for concerns dealing with the Pentagon—a portion of which appeared in *The Nation* of January 3, 1952—is of great interest. So, also, are his revelations of the bitter in-fighting which is an important aspect of service politics. And there are some amusing side lights on the extent to which the army is top-heavy with administrative and clerical personnel. When Colonel Neblett returned to Washington after V-J Day as a "chair-borne" colonel in the legislative and liaison division of the air force at the Pentagon, he was provided with a personal staff of two civilian secretaries and thirty-odd officers and men, although at no time in the two years he served, he says, was he given enough work to keep himself and one secretary busy.

Theater

Harold Clurman

WHATEVER the precise moment of its composition (the copyright date of the one-acter from which the present version was made is 1948), Tennessee Williams's "Camino Real" (National Theater) should be regarded as a work of the author's nonage. Though this is what I sensed immediately as I watched it in the theater, I could not help feeling irritated with it. As I sit down to write about it a day later, I am inclined to view it more sympathetically. The "history" of this change may constitute the main point of my notice.

Being essentially a youthful work, "Camino Real" is immature. But like the youthful and immature work of most artists, "Camino Real" is significant of its author's seed thoughts, impulses, and ambitions. Far from being obscure, the play reiterates its intention and meaning at every point. In fact, it is too nakedly clear to be a sound work of art.

Kilroy, typical of the "natural" young American of little education, is presented more or less out of time, though the language is sharply contemporary, and out of space, though the atmosphere is the sultry one of Latin American "bohemia" with its ambiguous tone of varicolored lights, strange intoxicants, hybrid excitements, roguish pursuits, and appetizing danger. With this there is a kind of literary afflatus characteristic of the man who feeds his dreams with the color of foreign cultures. Kilroy is bewildered and innocent, seeking a haven in a world corrupt to the core, gasping for security and love in places where he can find nothing but humiliating adventures. The rich are smug and cruel; officialdom is heartless and blind; all, save the heroic poet who is willing to take action, shrink from the nobler exploits of the spirit. Kilroy is doomed to die young because he is honest, ignorant, and without guile. His redeeming feature is aspiration—not without a touch of puritanism—an unconscious idealism which makes him brother to other errant knights who have sinned, suffered, and still believed in the inherent magnificence of life. "The violets in the mountain will break the rocks"—the dream will conquer crass reality. Don Quixote bids the boy not to pity himself, forever to seek the uncharted paths of the more exalted quests even if the ultimate destination is never to be known.

This is the mystique of romanticism, with a special stress on pity for the insulted and injured, the persecuted minorities, the victims and outcasts. Considering the times we live in, I am entirely cordial to these sentiments—particularly since they are no longer intellectually fashionable. Williams also hankers for an unfettered theater, a theater free of the bonds of workaday naturalism, a theater where the poet in him can speak more personally and with a greater degree of self-revelation than the usual prosy play permits. Thus "Camino Real" discards the routine props of logic, exposition, and straight story line. Though there is a certain juvenile impatience in this, I can embrace Williams on this count too. His crimes have a healthy source.

What is less fortunate is that his play, instead of being the surrealist phantasmagoria it intends to be, is far too literal—in almost every respect far less poetic than "The Glass Menagerie" or "A Streetcar Named Desire." To say, "We're all of us guinea pigs in the laboratory of God," or to have street cleaners represent death or an airplane named Fugitiva stand for escape, is far less imaginative than to have the hapless Blanche du Bois of "Streetcar" go off to an insane asylum depending on the

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kindness of strangers. The most successful moments of "Camino Real" are the sardonic vaudeville of the gipsy-fortune-teller scene and, even better, the boy-and-girl love scene—a sort of wrily sentimental comic-strip ballet of courtship—which is almost as specific as the Gentleman Caller scene in "The Glass Menagerie." In other words, Williams, like Sean O'Casey and many others, is less suggestive and poignant when he aims point-blank at his aesthetic, poetic, or symbolic target than when he employs the concrete means of a real situation. Poetry cannot be captured by direct assault; beauty cannot be won unless we woo it first through the beast.

As with the play's poetry, so with its "philosophy." It is too blunt. It does not matter in art whether or not one is a pessimist or an optimist. To say that life is lovely is no more correct, convincing, moving, or significant than to say that it is horrid. It is the substance—not the conclusion—of an argument that gives it validity. Its *living matter*—the images, forms, characters, incidents, evocation of experience, life-content—give a work of art its power, meaning, and value. If these are rich, then the work is creative no matter how white or black the summation of the whole may be. When Kilroy repeats, "I am sincere, I am sincere, I am sincere," he is touching even in the poverty of his speech, but on the ideological level "Camino Real" is negligible because its fabric, for all its fancy patterning, is "general issue."

YET I AM LOATH to be harsh with it. When people on the first night are puzzled because the play seems cryptic to them, I am astonished at the paradox which makes them believe they understand the much subtler "Streetcar"—the theme of which they are hardly ever able to state; when people at the second night "love" the play in protest against what they consider a backward press, I am distressed that they are not really seeing or thinking about it so much as expressing an ill-defined and frustrated resentment against something.

That "something" is not the press. The sad fact of our theater is that a play like "Camino Real" with all its faults ought to be produced, listened to, criticized with measure and affection, but that this is difficult when its production costs a fortune, when it is forced to become part of the grand machinery of investment, real estate, Broadway brokerage and competition for reputation. A play like "Camino Real" should be produced—as it might be in France, for example—with modest means in a small theater where it would be quietly seen, enjoyed, and judged for what it is—a fallible minor work of a young artist of important talent.

Elia Kazan's production adds to the script's flaws by being conceived in a major key. It is scenically too heavy; it is vocally too noisy. It is too punchy, forthright, and "realistic." It stampedes where it should float; it clamors and declaims where it should insinuate. It has much less humor than the text. There are, none the less, good actors in it—too many to list here.

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Cramped digits, inflamed pleura;
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Music

B. H. Haggin

THOUGH almost everyone involved in "The Rake's Progress" at the Metropolitan contributed to making it the distinguished and stimulating occasion it was, the principal contribution was of course Stravinsky's. In fact the other contributions could have been regarded as an *hommage* to the composer of a score which was like a summation of his artistic experience and activity. A score, that is, in which a way of thinking and operating developed in the succession of previous works now produced a great deal that was familiar—ranging from the well-known ostinato figures to the gravely dissonant writing that one recalled from "Orpheus" and that now provided the opera's most affecting music in its last two scenes. But for the situations of the earlier scenes Stravinsky had produced a wide variety of invention that was astonishingly and delightfully new: fanfares, processional music, arias in sustained melodic style, even an aria (Baba's *Wretched me*) in an amusingly extravagant florid style. True enough, even in what was new Stravinsky had followed his old practice of working with materials taken from his musical experiences—the themes and styles of other composers and other periods—and of producing, in effect, personal commentaries on those experiences. That is, considering it appropriate that a play laid in the eighteenth century be set in the operatic style of that period, he had produced arias in a lovely melodic style, but with the tensions they acquired in the process of being geared with orchestral parts whose acrid dissonance and rhythmic intricacy kept one constantly aware of, and stimulated by, the presence and activity of the Stravinsky mind.

Since this was an opera in English, I didn't read the libretto by W. H. Auden and Chester Kallman in advance but depended on the performance for knowledge of what the opera was about; and since it turned out that the words of the recitatives were intelligible but most of the words of the arias and ensembles were not, I followed the essentials of the action but got almost none of the philosophical meaning with which the text enriched this action, and as little of the literary distinction and

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stimulation which it contributed to the occasion. My guest at the performance who *had* read the libretto didn't hear many more of the words than I, and surprised me by saying they hadn't been much more intelligible in the broadcast performance. One reason certainly was the poor projection of the words by Hilde Gueden; but I could understand very few of those that Eugene Conley projected better, and not all of those that Mack Harrell projected best of all. Another reason may have been the way the words were set by Stravinsky—which, someone remarked, gave them the quality of translation-English when sung.

But one reason unquestionably was the fact that words in any language are difficult to hear in opera—the fact which makes it pointless to give a foreign opera in English "so that it can be understood." What I understood about "The Rake's Progress" was no more than I would have known about a new opera in Italian from an advance reading of a summary. And apparently that was as much as the librettists had expected me to understand: Mr. Kallman was reported to have said they had expected one-half to two-thirds of the words to be lost, and had hoped certain key phrases would stand out; and Mr. Auden said that he was perfectly pleased to have his words "the servants of Mr. Stravinsky's music. They have their moment of glory, the moment in which they suggest a certain melody; once that is over . . . they must efface themselves and cease to care what happens to them"—which implies for me that the listener too should cease to care what happens to them, and give his attention to the melody they have suggested. Mr. Auden was speaking only of "The Rake"; but I would say his statement is true for all opera.

The other contributions to the distinction and stimulation of the occasion were made by the artists involved in the performing of the work. Mr. Bing gave it a cast of his best singers; and though regrettable it was not his fault that Conley and Gueden had less dramatic force than Harrell and Blanche Thebom. Possibly, also, a more distinguished designer than Horace Armistead for the scenery and costumes wasn't available to Mr. Bing; for he did give the musical direction to Reiner, the stage direction to Balanchine, and allowed them the unusual amount of rehearsal time that enabled them to achieve—even with the title role dramatically unprojected, and with merely adequate scenery and costumes—a production such as one only rarely experiences in the opera house. It was a production with which the Metropolitan paid full honor to Stravinsky and greatly honored itself.

For the Columbia recording Stravinsky was to take over from Reiner; and it will be interesting to hear the differences in his performance. For he is the best conductor of his own music—as he demonstrated with his performance of "Jeu de cartes" with the New York Philharmonic. Cantelli's performance had been dazzling and witty; but Stravinsky, playing the piece more slowly, made its detail stand out more clearly, sharply, and powerfully—which is to say more effectively.

Art Notes

CAMERON BOOTH, resident artist at the University of Minnesota, terms his paintings "concretions." His motifs, stemming from nature, are translated into concrete graphic terms. They are rich in color and subtle in form.—*Bertha Schaefer to April 11.*

BEATA GRAY shows a group of Manhattan scenes done in a linear style that finds its roots in cubism.—*Creative to April 11.*

TSCHACBASOV, whose former works were psychological probings in paint, is now concerned with the organization of multiple images. All the paintings in this show are profiles executed within a rigid mathematical formula.—*Heller to April 11.*

DAVID and SYLVIA LUND, the first a painter, the second a sculptor, show together for the first time. The casein paintings are done in low-keyed colors, and the sculptures are strong and well designed.—*Peter Cooper to April 15.*

LOUIS FERSTADT has abandoned his previous classical style and turned to pointillism. This group of oils describing ordinary life emphasizes color and symbol.—*Copain to April 12.*

IRWIN TOUSTER, Brooklyn cartoonist, potter, and painter, shows oil paintings of landscapes and figures in landscapes.—*Davis to April 11.*

NAT RAMER, instead of continuing with his low-keyed paintings, now uses bright, clear colors to comment on human activity, chiefly in portraits and genre paintings.—*Helen Goodman to April 11.*

NATHAN DOLINSKY has been seen in group shows for many years. A mature artist, he has painted this series of landscapes in warm, low-keyed tones. —*Kottler to April 14.*

JAMES N. ROSENBERG, romantic realist, who has been prominent on the American art scene for four decades, shows a number of Adirondack and Israel landscapes. Some are in clear pastel colors, but in those that reflect his preoccupation with the changing seasons, he uses somber browns and grays to underline the drama of his subjects.—*Feigl.*

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Letters

FM in Boston

Dear Sirs: Mr. Haggin has not quite done justice in his excellent discussion of broadcast music to the situation in Boston. The Lowell Institute FM station, WGBH, is only one of four FM stations which broadcast good music here in Boston. WXHR plays music continuously from 5 p.m. to 11 p.m., music of the highest range and quality, including extended Bach and Mozart cycles. WBUR and WERS, the stations of Boston College and Emerson College respectively, broadcast not only music but recorded BBC plays. The situation is such that in one night a listener may have to choose between Bach's "Matthew Passion," Molière's "Tartuffe," and Shakespeare's "Henry VIII." In fact, so happy is the situation that one almost fears to discuss it lest it change.

Is this not perhaps the ideal solution, a commercial radio on the AM band, with its honorific "big" broadcasts of opera and symphony, and an increasing chain of privately sponsored "cultural" FM stations? This would allow the corporations to demonstrate their big-heartedness, while the discriminating public can go elsewhere for fulness and variety. The universities must take the initiative.

Cambridge, Mass. R. W. FLINT

The Doomed Valley

Dear Sirs: Edgar Perry brought to the attention of your readers a very timely and important matter when he discussed The Doomed Valley in your issue of February 7. It must be that the tense drive for commercial opportunity is blinding us to the need for the long view. Overgrazing is common even in more northerly, better-watered regions. In the arid regions we have not had the intellectual hardihood to realize that the land cannot carry as many animals as other areas. We will not face reality.

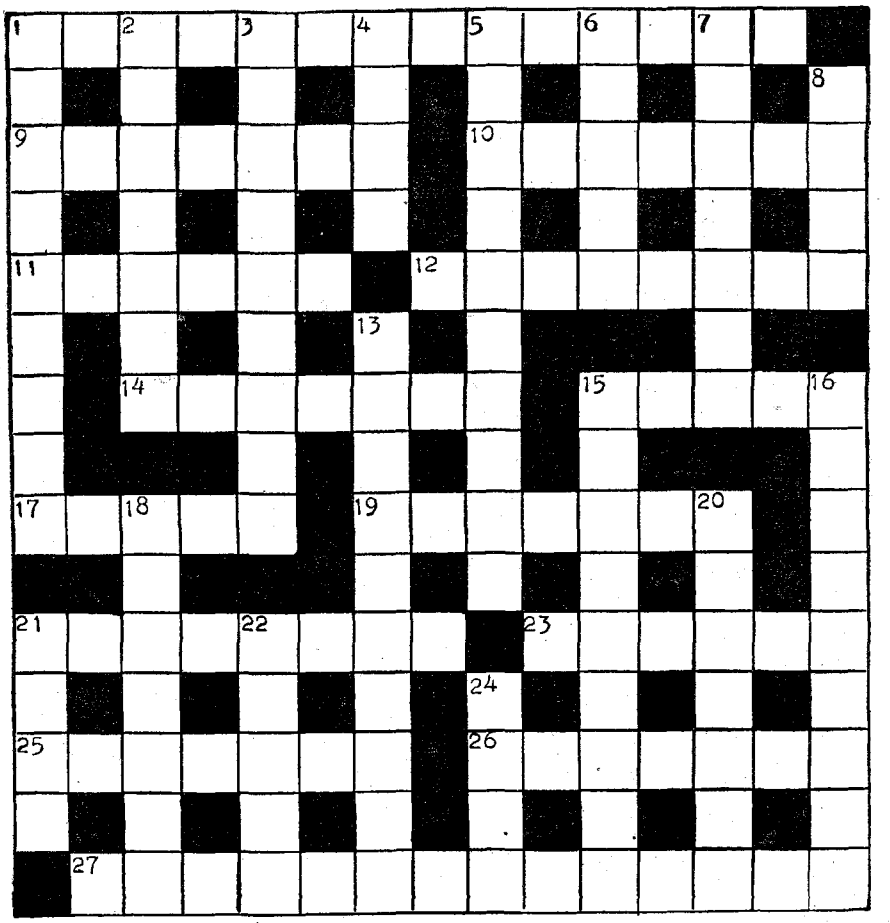
A few years ago Dr. Walter Cottam of the University of Utah at Salt Lake City published a pamphlet entitled "Is Utah Sahara Bound?" This work reveals what we have done to the land in that state during the past century.

Mr. Perry has done an excellent job of reporting on an important problem, and you are to be complimented for publishing it. OLAUS J. MURIE

Moose, Wyo.

Crossword Puzzle No. 510

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Choose what used to be essential for light reading matter for light reading. (8, 6)
9 More than adequately covered in the first term in educational institutions. (7)
10 This sort of oil man's likely to be found in the near east. (7)
11 Equivalent to a sort of pane in the neck? (6)
12 Couldn't Weber's darling daughter even go this, making an encroachment? (8)
14 Relating to heat. (7)
15 Parents, perhaps, are in the middle of the city. (5)
17 Names rates in time for school. (5)
19 This is a capital cleaning agent! (7)
21 Repudiates it is said broken promises. (8)
23 This islander sounds like an idiot. (6)
25 Diverge in a different way. (7)
26 Cross breed of cats? (7)
27 Looking for an opening? (6, 8)

DOWN

1 The gas pipe is broken and without a thing to improve the fire. (4, 5)
2 This tea isn't strong at all, if the answer's material. (7)
3 Unexpected good fortune, but the cradle won't rock if it does. (9)
4 Morse's is not primarily one of ethics. (4)
5 Mediterranean who might be an echo in pain. (10)
6 Island in Zanzibar protectorate, seen in ship embarkation. (5)
7 In France, one who has a fixed income somewhat suggests that it's comparatively tear-ful. (7)
8 See 20 down.
13 Is the first mate's hitch over when one is made? (5, 5)
15 News cut? (It's likely to be found around the top of the page.) (5, 4)
16 You might not recognize this "Wozzeck," so here's a clue—he's a sort of land-grabber, but no doctor.(5, 4)
18 In the same business as 16. Tell the name of one of his prod[illegible] (7)
20 and 8 down. Proving musical comedy is an integral part of America. (2, 4, 1, 4)
21 If you go to them in Florida, you might be better; in most places you'd be worse. (4)
22 5151500—full of life. (5)
24 A nurse evidently has to be sort of an amateur radio operator. (4)

• ✻ •

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 509

ACROSS:—1, 6, 18 and 24 down PUTTING THE CART BEFORE THE HORSE; 10 RADICAL; 12 CORNICES; 13 BELEM; 15 ELECT; 17 AMBERGRIS; 19, 11, 29 and 1 down THE BEST OF FRIENDS MUST PART; 21 DRAKE; 23 ECLAT; 24 HARDTACK; 27 DESPAIR; 28 TOWHEAD; 30 CELEBRATES.

DOWN:—2 TADPOLE; 3 INCAN; 4 GOLD COAST; 5 HAFTS; 7 ANNULAR; 8 TASKMASTER; 9 TIMBERED; 14 HEATHENDOM; 16 TREE TOAD; 20 ENLISTS; 22 ANCIENT; 25 TOWER; 26 IDES.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York.

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Dr. Butler on Sacco-Vanzetti

Dear Sirs: A few days before the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti I telephoned or telegraphed to Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler at his country residence in Southampton, Long Island, suggesting that he associate himself with William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, in asking Governor Fuller to commute the death sentence of Sacco and Vanzetti. On August 20, 1927, Dr. Butler telegraphed Governor Fuller as follows:

On behalf of large body of sober American opinion which, while wholly unmoved by the unreasonable and violent demonstrations, is nevertheless gravely disturbed by the published record of the Sacco-Vanzetti case, I earnestly urge commutation of death sentence to life imprisonment. Many of us would gladly associate ourselves with the impressive message sent you by William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor.

I do not think this telegram has ever been made public, and I send it to you for publication in *The Nation.*

CHARLES C. BURLINGHAM

New York

Italy Misrepresented?

Dear Sirs: With reference to the letter by Maury Maverick on the case of a Sicilian separatist named Pasquale Sciortino, in *The Nation* of February 7, may I point out, purely in the interests of accuracy, that the death penalty does not exist in Italy. Furthermore, no one is condemned to life imprisonment, or anything remotely resembling it, for subversive activity against the present Italian government.

Mr. Maverick's assertion that Pasquale Sciortino, if deported to Italy, "is sure to be killed or imprisoned for life by the Italian government" might have been correct ten or twenty years ago, but it is a misrepresentation of Italy today.

New York DARINA SILONE

Teachers for Freedom

Dear Sirs: You are to be commended for publishing in your February 28 issue Melvin H. Bernstein's analysis of the abominable situation in which the teaching profession now finds itself. The tide will be turned back when more teachers stand up to be counted on the side of freedom of the mind. It is high time we 90 and 95 per cent Americans "stirred ourselves in the sun of the American promise" and rose to defend our constitutional freedoms.

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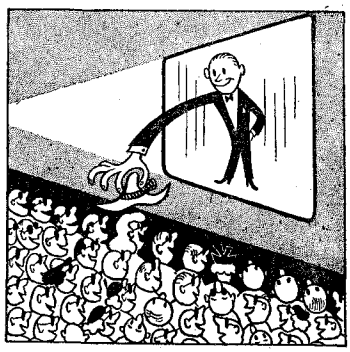
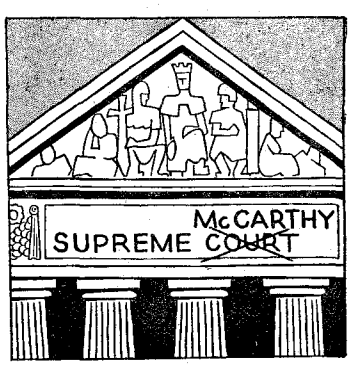


A tip for Senator McCarthy: Why not abolish the Supreme Court and substitute a Subcommittee on Constitutional Questions of the Senate Judiciary Committee? The Senator could become Supreme Subcommitteeman. The suggestion of course is made only half in jest, as those of you will learn who read Philip Wittenberg's forthcoming piece in *The Nation* on how our Congressional Committees are encroaching upon the functions of the courts. Mr. Wittenberg, an attorney of international repute, is author of "Dangerous Words" and is now lecturing at Columbia University. His article will appear soon.



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